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# UNIONS AND THE BOMB: No case for compromise

AN EDITORIAL

## ARRESTS CONTINUE IN OMAHA ACTION

Maximum jail sentences  
for missile protestors

**THE maximum penalty of six months in jail and a \$500 fine was last week given to the first five missile base protestors to be arrested for trespassing near Omaha, Nebraska.**

The sentences were then suspended and each defendant was given a year's probation on conditions which preclude any demonstration at any military installation in the United States.

The protestors were members of Omaha Action, the American radical pacifist project against nuclear missile policy.

Those facing the district judge were A. J. Muste, Karl Meyer, Ross Anderson, Wilmer Young, David Wyland, Brad Lyttle, and Don Fortenberry. Sentence on the last two was postponed at their own request.

The first five men all refused to sign the probation conditions, and each is determining for himself whether or not to observe them. At least one of them was intending to disregard the parole regulations and return to the missile site.

The Rev. A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, spoke for 25 minutes in court on the possible consequences of a nuclear attack on the United States (as had been reported to Congress the previous week).

He pointed out the moral responsibility of people to take action when they saw wrong, as did those in the Underground Railroad, the Boston Tea Party, and the early Quakers and early Christians.

The US Government, he said, could not really be threatened by the non-violent action of a few pacifists; the real fear must have been that people would begin to listen to the pacifists, to think for themselves and to take action against the weapons being produced.

Further trespassing on the Mead ICBM site near Omaha was planned last Friday

by two other members of Omaha Action, and on Monday two more members were to start non-violent intervention by placing their bodies in the paths of trucks involved in construction or maintenance of the base.

"They hope in this way," says Omaha Action, "and by taking the suffering of injury and/or jail sentence upon themselves, to call the workers' attention to the fact that when these missiles are used, millions of people will be killed and the future of mankind put in jeopardy."

As was reported in last week's edition of Peace News, Omaha Action is a continuation of the tradition established by three non-violent action projects for peace: the project at the Mercury Bomb-testing area near Las Vegas, Nevada, in the summer of 1957; the voyages of "Golden Rule" and "Phoenix" toward and into the Eniwetok Bomb-testing area last year; and the Cheyenne project at the Atlas Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile base near Cheyenne, Wyoming, last summer.

Omaha Action has been open to anyone "who agrees with the project's objectives, accepts its disciplines, and pledges himself to behave in the spirit of non-violence."

The purpose is "to convince Americans and people throughout the world that the United States-Russian arms race is both 'satanic and a lethal threat to mankind's existence, and to move them to action which will prevent World War III.'"

● At Fort Detrick, Maryland, headquarters for germ warfare, over 130 people joined the vigil organised by the Middle Atlantic region of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. It was decided to continue indefinitely.

**L**AST week's resolution passed by the Transport and General Workers' Union is welcome evidence of the growing disquiet felt in Britain about the policies based on the development of nuclear weapons.

There is an increasing sense of the inadequacy of the way in which the statesmen of both the Parties are facing the completely new and dangerous situation that threatens humanity today.

More direct evidence was the declaration in favour of the unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb previously carried by the Municipal and General Workers; and this growing dissatisfaction with present policies will remain even if, in the course of the political chicanery at present in progress, the Municipal and General Workers are jockeyed into a reversal of their declaration.

This rapidly growing opposition to the present H-bomb policy makes it all the more necessary to scrutinise the proposed alternatives.

**Politics is a field in which compromise is often desirable and it becomes so much a habit of thought that it sometimes operates where compromise that makes sense is not practicable.**

This applies in the field of nuclear arms; a policy of unqualified unilateral abolition, as advocated by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with a full facing of the logical moral consequences of such a policy makes sense as the alternative to the Macmillan-Gaitskell policy. Sound as is the sentiment that has inspired the T&GWU pronouncement, it must be faced that it does not make sense as a declaration of policy.

The concluding paragraph of the resolution declares for:

"Making every effort through summit talks and such other means as are necessary to reach a stage-by-stage agreement with all the major powers of the implementation of multi-lateral disarmament, such agreement to include a satisfactory system of inspection and control under the authority of the United Nations Organisation based on the need for peaceful co-existence."

This is, of course, a policy upon which there is common agreement as between Mr. Bevan and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, so that this part of the resolution provides nothing by way of a change of policy.

What is involved in the other six points can be best examined by what would be

the British position regarding nuclear arms if the resolution were to be implemented.

Britain would continue to possess both A-bombs and H-bombs; there would still be, in British bases, bombers and rockets for their discharge. Britain would still have its military activities organised as part of the NATO war machine, and as well as retaining its present A-bombs and H-bombs would have its "defence" activities related to the development of nuclear weapons in the USA.

The resolution seeks changes or reassurances of certain aspects of policy in which the above position is assumed. It would, for instance, assert the principle of political as distinct from military control over the use of weapons of mass destruction; and it calls for the abandonment of the carrying of H-bomb loads by patrols of aircraft operating from Britain.

### Not explicit

It is presumably desired that present stocks of A-bombs and H-bombs shall not be added to, but instead of an explicit declaration to this effect what is asked for is a declaration that suspension of tests will mean a suspension of production. The resolution also desires a declaration that nuclear bombs or rockets with nuclear warheads will not be used first by Britain or from British territory.

Of this policy The Times remarks that it misses the security of full co-operation by Britain in a Western defensive alliance and the moral audacity of the total renunciation of the H-bomb, the dominant weapon of war.

**It is this quality that The Times calls moral audacity that is necessary today if mankind is to be given the prospect of a future.**

Discussing the implications of this resolution during the week-end, Mr. Gaitskell, having given the customary salaam of "respect" to those who are ready to face the full implications of a unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons on moral grounds, remarked that these were, however, advocating an escapist, blind policy dangerous to the peace of the world.

Those who set aside the case for unilateral renunciation on the ground that it represents a blind disregard of danger thus contrive to convey the suggestion that our present policy is one that avoids danger.

It is here that there is blindness. We live today in a much more dangerous world than mankind has ever known, and we do not abolish that danger by following our present course.

**It is a literal fact that any day—next week, perhaps, or the week after—some false step may be taken that will set off the chain of actions that may bring life in Britain to an end.**

A unilateral renunciation of nuclear arms, with no attempt to hedge it round with incompatible qualifications, would of course bring dangers, but they would be different dangers, and the possibility of the total obliteration of the people of the British Isles would be greatly diminished.

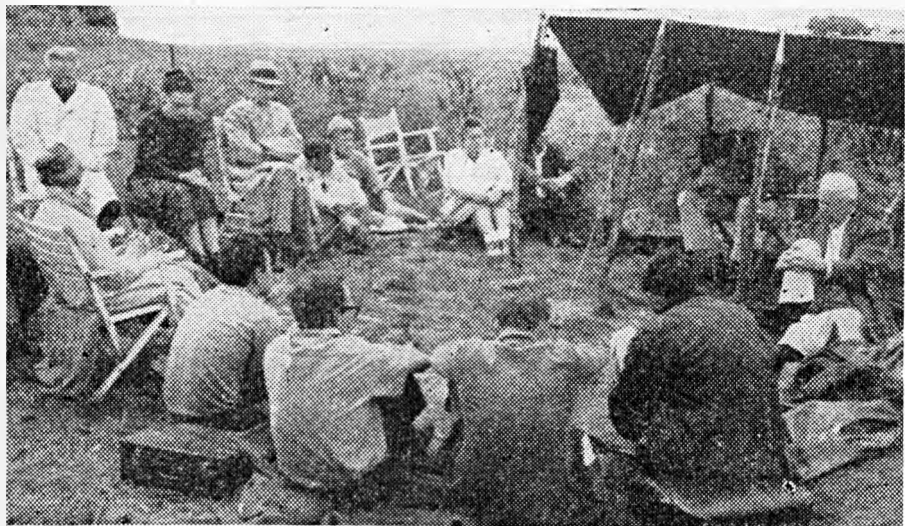
A British policy based for the first time on offering brotherly aid where it is needed, instead of on threats backed by capacity for destructive power, could provide a new leadership that had set aside the aim of dominance through power.

## Workers quit at rocket base site

**H. E. INGALL, a father of two children and a non-TU building worker on the Polebrook rocket site, near Peterborough, quit work on July 4 on grounds of conscience. He reported that two others left the site at the same time and that many of the men on the site were disturbed by the nature of the work.**

The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War who have been holding an intensive campaign in the Northants-Leicestershire area where missile bases are being built at Polebrook and a number of other places hope that it may prove possible to bring work on the Polebrook site to a standstill. The greater part of the campaign at the Polebrook site has been conducted by members of various Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups. They have been distributing leaflets to workers asking them to stop work and state what other employment they would consider.

Mr. Ingall, who was refused unemployment benefit, is being helped from the Direct Action Committee's Relief Fund until he finds other employment.



The Omaha group—three of whom later committed civil disobedience—in silent meditation outside the missile site.



# DEATH OF A HERO

Alan Lovell reviews

Ashes and Diamonds. At the Academy Cinema, London.

ANDRZEJ WADJA is a young Polish film director whose first two films, "A Generation" and "Kanal," made a great impression when they were first shown in the West. His third film "Ashes and Diamonds" can now be seen at the Academy Cinema in London.

All three films have similar scenes and situations. All are set in the Second World War (Polish film makers are obsessed with the war and its effects), and in each the hero sees the possibility of a better life but is trapped in his immediate situation.

The hero of "Ashes and Diamonds" is a young boy, Maciek, who has fought with the Polish nationalist resistance against the Germans and is now, at the very end of the war, fighting with the nationalists against the Polish Communists. He and another nationalist come to a hotel to kill a Communist who has just returned from Russia to be the district secretary of the Party.

While they are at the hotel Maciek meets and falls in love with a girl who works in the hotel bar. The meeting is a crisis for him. It opens up new possibilities and calls into question the purpose and meaning of his present activities. His task of killing the Communist forces him to make a choice between his old life and the possibility of a new one. If he kills the man he will have to leave the town, the girl, and the new possibilities.

He is too deeply committed to his task. He kills the man. While leaving the town he accidentally runs into some soldiers who shoot at him and wound him so badly that he dies horribly on a rubbish dump.

★

The film is primarily a moral study of Maciek from his first appearance as a compulsive killer through his tender relationship with the girl to his final death. Although the film is placed very firmly at



the end of the war, Maciek is a hero who belongs much more to the nineteen-fifties. He has close affinities with the young rebel heroes of the American cinema, rebel heroes who have come to be closely identified with actors like Marlon Brando and James Dean. Like them he lives a violent life not through choice but because there seems no other. Like them he wants something better—something that he is not articulate or mature enough to define but

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which he is able to recognise when he meets.

Maciek's contemporary "feel" throws the film off balance. The rebels of the 1950s seem to be making a pointless rebellion because of the negative positions they adopt. In fact, their rebellion has significance because it shows up an insane society which denies them any chance of a satisfactory life. Allen Ginsberg describes the position at the beginning of his poem "Howl":

*I saw the best minds of my generation  
destroyed by madness,  
starving hysterical naked,  
dragging themselves through the negro  
streets at dawn looking for an angry  
fix, . . .*

*who sank all night in submarine light of  
Bickford's floated out  
and sat through the stale beer afternoon  
in desolate  
Fugazzi's listening to the crack of doom  
on the hydrogen juke box.*

★

I find this kind of rebellion very sympathetic and I think Wadja is sympathetic in the same way to Maciek. But Maciek is in a very different situation from the rebels of the nineteen-fifties. Unlike them he does not make a total rebellion against society but chooses one side. And the side that he chooses is the side that the 'fifties rebels would find most unsympathetic, the nationalist fascists. Because of this choice, one has a contradictory attitude to Maciek; sympathy for him as a contemporary rebel and a lack of sympathy for him as a member of a gang of nationalist thugs.

Wadja's sympathy for him also weakens Maciek's awakening. If through ignorance he had been mixed up with the fascists, the new choice represented by his relationship with the girl is very important. But if his old position is to some extent justified, then the choice is less important and less pressing, for a relationship with a girl will not change the character of society. Because of the film's double attitude to Maciek it is never clear what the nature of this choice really is.

The sympathy for Maciek also makes his death less acceptable. If he is the kind of hero the film demands then his refusal to choose life condemns him to such a terrible death. But if he is the kind of hero I have indicated, such a severe judgment cannot be made of him.

★

The secondary theme of the film is the kind of Poland that is emerging out of the war. The representatives of the new Poland are the Communist Party secretary and his close associate; both of them are presented in a very sympathetic way. Opposed to them are a group of decaying upper class people, representatives of the old Poland, presented very unsympathetically.

But Wadja is a subtle enough artist to know that the contrast is not as crude as this. Between the old and the new are a group of "new men," the principal representative of whom is the mayor, who is to become a minister in the new Government. In manner and attitude he is very much part of the old Poland, but he is astute enough to jump on the band-wagon and is now in a position to shape the future of Poland. Wadja hints that men like the mayor are a reason for the failure of the Polish Communist dream.

The attitude to Poland that emerges from the film is an ambiguous one. There is a savage satire on the old Poland in the scene where a dance band plays Chopin's Polonaise in A major in an absurd, out of tune fashion as the representatives of old Poland dance pathetically round. To add to the savagery of the portrait this scene is intercut with shots of Maciek's horrible death. But in the last shot we get of the dancers the music has become tuneful and gentle and the dancers themselves have acquired a certain dignity.

The scene almost becomes an elegy for a Poland that is passing away; the effect is



strengthened by the scene being immediately followed by a shot of the old hotel porter unfurling the Polish flag while the early morning sunlight comes blazing through the window.

So side by side in the film are two attitudes to pre-war Poland, one savagely satirical and the other nostalgic and romantic.

"Ashes and Diamonds" is a continuously exciting film both in its themes and its achievement. Throughout we feel Wadja responding very creatively to his subject; to take one example, the shooting of the love scene in big close-ups of the boy and girl which fade gently into each other is unconventional but completely successful. The acting has the same creative quality.

The film makes nonsense of the usual distinctions between a "free" West and an "unfree" East. It is true that there is a censorship in Poland. One of the reasons for Maciek's belonging more to the nineteen fifties than to the nineteen-forties is probably the censor's refusal to let Polish film makers deal with contemporary Poland (the only Polish film to do so, the film of Hlasko's "Eighth day of the week" could not be shown in the West).

But unlike the film makers of the West, Polish film makers are allowed to work on the assumption their audience is adult, and they have responded by producing a number of adult intelligent films, many more than could be gathered together from all the Western countries.

In the West there are several kinds of censorship though none of them as obvious as the Polish censorship; they range from political censorship to a censorship of adult intelligent film-making. A film maker has rather more freedom in Poland than he does in Hollywood. This is a fact that we should do well to remember. "Ashes and Diamonds" is a very good reminder.

## Film viewing session

In response to requests another film viewing session has been arranged by the Society of Friends (Quakers) for Saturday, Oct. 17, and will deal with refugees, war on want, nuclear weapons, and the responsibility of the individual. Leaflets advertising the showing which will be at Friends House will shortly be obtainable from Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

## BRIEFLY

Pen friends can be made all over the world by sending for a copy of the Pen Friends Guide issued by The Caravan of East and West, Inc., 132 East 65th Street, New York 21, NY, USA.

The Committee of British Parents, 22 Lanchester Road, London, N.6 are calling for volunteers who will undertake to picket any of the French, American or Russian Embassies, or Downing Street, at the news of an imminent new nuclear test or test exploded.

Songs from the two Aldermaston Marches have been compiled in booklet form and can be obtained from The Broadsheet King, 15 Mortimer Terrace, Highgate Road, London, N.W.5.

## A foretaste of colonial freedom

By FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.

THE Belgian Congo is giving us some foretaste of what is likely to happen in Central Africa if a British Government ever comes down on the side of African rule.

Following the riots in Leopoldville earlier this year, the Government in Brussels announced a plan of progressive constitutional changes leading to independence.

What the settlers, industrialists and civil servants think of this has been demonstrated in the Congo during the recent visit of M. van Hemelrijck, the Belgian Minister for the Congo.

M. van Hemelrijck has been pelted with tomatoes by irate settlers, in one district they even constructed road blocks to prevent a continuation of his tour, and the civil servants have threatened a strike unless they are assured higher salaries than Africans even under independence. The Société-Generale, which controls three-fifths of the economy of the Congo, has denounced the Government plans for self-government.

On the other hand the African people, although maintaining demands which go beyond the Belgian plan, have received M. van Hemelrijck enthusiastically.

There is happily an enlightened White group in the Congo which is urging an immediate transitional Government including Africans, but the reactionaries are powerful both in the Congo and in Brussels where, it is said, the Government is actively intervening on the side of continued White domination.

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# PEOPLE AND PLACES

PEACE NEWS, July 17, 1959—3

## Moving day



WHEN you read this we shall be moving into our new premises at 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross. Packing is proceeding as this appeal for the Peace News Fund is being written.

Life is hectic, for, with the printing dispute still unresolved, we are also coping with emergency printing arrangements.

So we have been warmly appreciative of the many letters (in many cases with the accompanying donations to the Fund) which readers have sent to us, wishing us well as Peace News starts life in its new home.

At this time of the year our slender cash resources disappear and we rely very much on the Peace News Fund (later the sales of Christmas Cards will come to our rescue). May we ask for some special help during these summer weeks to deal with our money problems? A donation to the Peace News Fund today?

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since July 3: £77 18s. 5d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £570 17s. 11d.

Still needed: £1,929.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

## Rocket base campaigns

VOLUNTEERS are wanted NOW for the Direct Action campaigns against the Northants-Leicestershire bases and the Suffolk bases which have been continuing steadily during the past week.

In the Northants area suppliers of materials to the bases have been asked to withdraw their help and shops in the vicinity have been asked not to supply provisions.

Volunteers for the Northants campaign, in which there is a variety of activity, should contact the Direct Action Committee at 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4 (STAmford Hill 7062).

Others are wanted for the two vigils and two rallies at Rattlesden and Sutton Heath in Suffolk. The vigils consisting of 3-hour watches will last from 6 p.m. Friday, July 24, to 9 a.m. Monday, July 27. Those wishing to take part should write to Will Warren, C/O Mrs. Chapman, Syers Farm, Hitcham, nr. Ipswich, Suffolk.

## Holiday Conference

Places are still available at the Peace Pledge Union's holiday conference at Borth, North Wales. Facing a sandy bathing beach, the conference centre offers all the amenities of a good hotel and children are specially welcome. "You will be free to make your own arrangements during the day and every evening you will be able to join in discussions of interest to pacifists and their friends," says a brochure available from 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The subject is "Some Aspects of Non-violence," led by John Aitkenhead and Stuart Morris. Fees: Adults, £8 10s.; Children: Under 5, £3 15s.; 5-10, £5 15s.; 10-12, £6 15s. The date is . . .

August 15-22

## On and off target

IT'S time we had a look back over the past few weeks to see where the honours lie in the struggle over British nuclear policy.

PN readers will have seen the way the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has made the real issues quite clear about Labour's proposal for a "non-nuclear club." The plan, it says, is to "merely promise to forego these weapons if all other countries (except Russia and America) do likewise; and to retain them if they don't" (Campaign's italics).

We'd also like to mention the Daily Herald, which published its own views so prominently on its front page on the very day that Labour's proposed policy was to be discussed at a joint meeting with the TUC international sub-committee.

"Let the Labour Party," said the Herald, "declare its determination to take the lead in abandoning these hideous weapons altogether and in recruiting into the Club all nations willing to do the same."

A powerful cartoon in support of the General Workers' Union decision for unilateral renunciation was also featured the same day.

But there were some priceless comments in some papers during the debate. Consider this one from Labour MP Douglas Jay, writing in Forward ("The Political Paper That Packs a Punch"):

"Tests directly poison the atmosphere and they can be resumed again if other nations continue them."

Read that again! Jay comments that the dreadful phrase "moral example" has mislead more people than anything else. "More thought, less slogan is needed," he believes.

An interesting lesson can be learned from a later comment in the Daily Herald: even newspapermen whose job every day is to follow political discussions and decisions have absolutely no faith in grandiose plans for disarmament.

Here is how the Herald opened its displayed interpretation of the Labour policy: "Labour's first step, if it is returned to power at the next Election, will be to bring about world disarmament."

There's a modest beginning!

## Something to declare

THIS week a young married couple and a two-ton truck set off from London to tour Europe with an exhibition.

The couple: 25-year-old writer John Brunner and his wife Marjorie, both members of the committee of the Hampstead Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The exhibition: "No Place to Hide," a powerful collection of pictures and text concerning present preparations for war.

Having been shown all round Britain in the last 12 months, including at last year's Edinburgh Festival, the exhibition has now been considerably altered and captions and text added in German, French, Dutch and Swedish.

Among the towns to which it has been invited are Stockholm (where it will be opened by Nobel prize winner Dr. Linus Pauling), Hamburg, Berlin, Nürnberg,

Munich, Geneva, Lyons, Paris, Brussels, Charleroi and Liege. It may also go on to Antwerp, Mons and Dortmund.

Main changes in "No Place to Hide" are the removal of the largest photos; additions to the section "People Protest" (including a photograph 11 feet long of this year's Aldermaston march); and additions to the text concerning the effects of fall-out.

The section concerning the deterrent theory is greatly improved by war pictures from Korea, Indo-China, Suez, Hungary and Quemoy. Several of the pictures in this and other sections came from Peace News office.

The present tour was suggested at the April meeting of the European Federation against Nuclear Arms. Who will suggest it for the United States? Russell Johnson, New England peace education secretary for the American Friends Service Committee, is at present touring Europe. If he should see this exhibition, my guess is that America will see something like it before the end of next year.

## Coca-Cola, bombs, etc.

WHAT impact does modern civilisation have on a primitive society long isolated from the rest of the world?

A United Nations mission has just reported on its visit to New Guinea, a UN trust territory administered by Australia. And the four-man mission, with members from China, Belgium, Burma and Italy, reports that the social stability which the people had achieved over the centuries "was being shattered" by contact with Western culture and new modes of behaviour, beliefs and values.

The obvious material superiority of this alien culture was profoundly affecting their belief in the validity of their own way of life.

The resulting "confusion and frustration," the mission said, was apparent in what is known as the "cargo cult"—a belief in the imminent arrival of large stores of goods and foods in ships sent by the spirit of their ancestors, because the indigenous inhabitants should have the

same things as people of European origin.

In anticipation of an age of plenty the people eat up all their foodstuffs thereby causing famine. As soon as the arrival of a ship is forecast by cult leaders, the people flock to the beaches and neglect their fields.

The report is being considered by the Trusteeship Council in New York.

## Verdict at St. Faith's

I HAVE just seen the annual report of St. Faith's Mission Farm, the multi-racial community in Rusape, Southern Rhodesia, where Guy Clutton-Brock worked for nine years until his arrest earlier this year.

"It was Guy's complete identification of himself with the ordinary man," says the report, "and his willingness to help and advise the young African leaders, which led to his recent arrest and imprisonment."

John Mutasa, the farm manager, "had barely pulled the mantle of C.B. round his shoulders when he, with three teachers from St. Faith's, were arrested in the small hours of the morning of February 26."

"He, and many others like him, want to have a hand and a voice in the development of their country, but it appears that their effort to make this fact known and felt is the direct cause of their arrest. . ."

## Separate entrances

NEXT week marks an important anniversary.

Just a year ago Mr. I. D. Smith, for the United Federal Party, explained in the Federal House the case for racial segregation in Southern Rhodesia. During a debate on the Posts and Telegraphs Estimates he was questioned by Mr. W. Chirwa about the Government's policy of separate post office entrances for different races in Southern Rhodesia.

The Government spokesman blandly observed that "Africans in this country welcome separate entrances." This week's anniversary would be important—if we didn't hear such dangerous nonsense every week.

—Phyz

## MRS. EISENMENGER FIGHTS ON

SOME people will not buckle down no matter what the pressure, and Luise Eisenmenger-Micko is one of them.

Well known for her anti-militarist activities, and Secretary of the Austrian Section of the War Resisters' International, Mrs. Eisenmenger was brought to trial by the Austrian Government on July 2 after writing an article called "Militarism Exposed," which it was claimed defamed the good name of the Austrian Army. The trial had been postponed for two weeks.

Because her article referred to the corrupting and brutalising of recruits and mentioned a TU youth organisation's earlier

complaints against the army, Mrs. Eisenmenger wanted to call three former army recruits and three members of the TU youth organisation as witnesses. But the judge said no, and as the result of a recent decision of the court fined Mrs. Eisenmenger about £6.

But Mrs. Eisenmenger is not the type to give in. She will appeal, and if that fails she will then appeal to the Human Rights Commission. However, she is not the only one dissatisfied with the judgment—the Prosecutor, annoyed by the lightness of the sentence, is also to appeal against it. So the battle of Mrs. Eisenmenger versus the Austrian Government is on in earnest.

## CLUTTON-BROCK'S APPEAL

THE 101 men and women who have been held in Southern Rhodesian jails since the Declaration of the Emergency in February are now appearing before a Review Tribunal.

Under the terms of the Preventive Detention Act which is now law they may be detained for a period of five years.

An urgent appeal has been made by Guy Clutton-Brock to provide legal aid for the detainees. Donations for the S. Rhodesian Detainees Legal Aid and Welfare Fund should be sent to the Africa Bureau, 65 Denison House, London, S.W.1, and cheques, etc., should be made payable to the Africa Bureau.

A picket of the Spanish Embassy has been arranged for Sunday, July 19. The picket is a protest against the illegal arrests and other totalitarian features of Franco's Spain. Anybody who wishes to take part in the picket or can help in any way should contact Christopher Soames, 61, Chiltern Road, Sutton, Surrey.

## AFRICA! AFRICA!

Trafalgar Square, Sunday, July 19 at 3 p.m.

Come and hear: Julius Nyerere (Tanganyika); Kanyama Chiume (Nyasaland); Joshua Nkomo (S. Rhodesia); T. Makiwane (S. Africa); Miss Manuela Sykes; Jo Grimond, MP; Fenner Brockway, MP; James Callaghan, MP; John Stonehouse, MP; Percy Belcher (Tobacco Workers' Union); Chairman: Bob Edwards, MP.

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# AFRICAN BOYCOTT WINS SUPPORT

By Tennyson Makiwane

*The official representative in Britain of the South African National Congress, Tennyson Makiwane, was number 26 on the list of the accused at the South African Treason Trial.*

## The question is . . . ?

By Sybil Morrison

"When I use a word," said Humpty Dumpty, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less. 'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you CAN make words mean so many different things.' 'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master—that's all.'—Alice Through The Looking Glass, by Lewis Carroll.

TALKING with and conferring with the delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee during their stay in Britain has aroused in me a desire to write about language and the meaning of words. Clearly it is not only different nationals who mean different things by the word "peace," but people of the same nationality who mean different things by the word.

To the majority of people in the world "peace" means nothing more than freedom from fighting each other, and the desire to secure this freedom is evident in the peoples of most nations; but since such freedom is invariably imagined in terms of an agreement to abandon nuclear weapons and possibly to reduce armaments, it cannot and does not mean the same as the peace that would exist in a disarmed society in which war could have no place.

Pacifism also is a word that is constantly mis-used and mis-interpreted; it is quite usual to read in the Press reference to "nuclear pacifists" when writing of those who desire Britain to abandon the H-bomb. In fact, the word "pacifism" cannot be applied to a policy of abolishing one particular weapon while retaining others; a pacifist does not accept one kind of war while repudiating another, nor does he urge the abandonment of nuclear weapons while relying on the stockpiling of other nations.

This is not pacifism. Yet pacifism is not easy to explain, and it is certainly very difficult to define in a foreign language. To refuse to sanction war carries with it the refusal to make the weapons of war as well as a refusal to use them, and it is therefore a renunciation, not of one weapon only, but of war preparation, and war itself.

It is, of course, always better to talk than to kill each other, but it is better still to do something positive that will make fighting an impossibility. Because their meanings are many, and differ according to interpretations, words are not enough.

A man holding a revolver may say, perhaps quite sincerely: "I mean you no harm; I will never pull the trigger unless you attack me," but the person looking down its sinister barrel sees only a threat, and probable aggression. If the man were to cast it away this action would need no words to explain it; the undefended person, and the empty hands, would speak the word "peace" in an unmistakable and universal language.

Words can mean what we choose them to mean and can be misunderstood; actions are conclusive. Total unilateral abandonment of arms would be the unmistakable action which would make the word "peace" real for the whole world.

FROM June 26, millions of Africans in South Africa launched a boycott of firms which support the apartheid practices of the present government. The firms include tobacco companies as well as food producing industries. In addition the Africans have launched a total boycott of potatoes as a protest to the slave labour system employed by the white farmers of South Africa.

Indications are that the boycott is already meeting with wide support in the country, whilst on the other hand it has driven the authorities into a panic. As usual, however, instead of meeting the peoples demands they have retaliated with banning the leaders of the African National Congress, imposed restrictions on its activities and undertaken the provocative step of furnishing the police with 80 Saracen armoured cars.

What are the targets of the boycott?

1. It is aimed at the vicious system of pass-laws whereby thousands of Africans are arrested every year for various petty offences under the pass-laws.

## Stockholm meeting to hear Linus Pauling

"ALTERNATIVES to Violence" is the theme of the fourteenth International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at Riksdagshuset (the Parliament House), Stockholm, from July 27 to 31.

The Congress will set up commissions on human rights and civil liberties, political solutions, and world development and world disarmament.

Principal speaker will be Dr. Linus Pauling, who will address the Congress immediately on arrival in Sweden after visiting Dr. Albert Schweitzer in Lambaréne.

Delegates are expected from each of the League's 18 sections, and visitors will be welcome at most of the sessions. Enquiries should be sent to the office of the League's Swedish section (Hovslagargatan 2, Stockholm) or to the British section at 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

The League is also helping World Refugee Year by building "Jane Addams House" in Austria to commemorate the centenary of the birth of the founder of the WIL.

Thirty-two refugee families have already been chosen to live there, and they are now making their own furniture in one of the workshops set up by the World Council of Churches.

Contributions may be sent to the Jane Addams Refugee Fund, care of the WILPF's British section.

Approximately £1,500,000,000 is the British annual arms bill, not 15 thousand million pounds as stated in Sybil Morrison's column on June 12.

Part of the 1,000-strong Yorkshire march from the Brighton rocket base to Selby on July 5—reported in last week's PN.

2. It hopes to secure the abolishing of the slave farm labour system which compels African men arrested for pass offences to be sent to the farms as labourers, where they work under intolerable conditions and earn a miserable wage of 9d. a day.
3. The campaign is intended to win trade union recognition for African workers who, although the most exploited section of the workers, are denied the right of collective bargaining.

Some well wishers and supporters of economic sanctions against the South Africa racialists expressed a fear that the campaign might also have adverse effects on the Africans themselves. It should be pointed out that the African National Congress has carefully considered all the aspects of the campaign and come to the conclusion that the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. The time has come it is felt when the Africans should withhold their purchasing power and by so doing compel those in power to negotiate.

Already one firm in South Africa has held round table talks with African leaders and granted concessions which include the recognition of the non-white trade union and re-employment of workers victimised for trade union activities.

Last December at the All-African Peoples Conference at Accra the delegates decided to launch a blanket boycott of South African goods.

## GERMANY TO MAKE HER OWN ROCKETS

HAWK guided missile parts are expected to be produced in West Germany soon. An amendment to that part of the Brussels Agreement which forbids the manufacture of guided missiles in West Germany is being considered.

General Steinoff, chief of the Luftwaffe organising staff, confirmed in Bavaria on June 17 that his air force would be equipped with Hawks, and that there would be production under licence in West Germany.

The Hawk, an American weapon, "is considered ideal for Continental European conditions." The Times' correspondent in Bonn reports, but it is longer than the missiles West Germany is at present permitted to produce.

Manufacture of the Hawk in Europe is to be a joint project of the Western European Union (Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, France, West Germany and Italy). It is "the first real attempt at inter-dependence," and has the full support of the USA.

## Facts given—facts withheld

Military orders placed by the Ministry of Supply for aircraft, aero-engines and aircraft components totalled £258,000,000 in the financial year 1957-58. The total was £73,000,000 in 1948-49.

The British Government has refused to publish estimates of the possible loss of life in Britain in the event of nuclear war. "No useful purpose would be served by publishing such estimates," the Home Secretary told Emrys Hughes, MP, on July 1.

It is the conviction of the African people of South Africa that the internal boycott campaign coupled with an external boycott by all the opponents of apartheid will have the desired effect.

Hence, the African National Congress has welcomed the Accra decision as well as the support of all those who have come forward to join the boycott of South African goods.

This indeed is the only weapon by which the outside world can express its moral disgust against apartheid. The boycott should be intensified.

FOOTNOTE: The South African National Congress has called for a boycott of the whole one-third of South Africa's total exports which come to Britain. The list of goods includes canned fruit, jam, tinned fish, tinned meat, Outspan oranges, Cape apples, grapes, pineapples, avocado pears and onions; wines, sherries, liqueurs and South African Craven 'A' cigarettes. (Tinned goods are marked "Produce of South Africa.")

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2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

JULY  
Saturday, 18: LONDON, S.W.19. 3-6 p.m. 63 Poplar Rd. Gdn. Party. PPU.  
Monday, July 20: HULL. 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St. Mtg. PPU. Tuesday, 21: MANCHESTER. 7.45 p.m. 23 Church St., Stretford Mtg. PPU.  
Thursday, 23: LONDON, N.W.3. 8 p.m. 47 Netherall Gdns., Flat 7. Andrew Rutter, "Two Eyes on Ghana." PPU. Saturday, 25: CAMBRIDGE. 4.45 p.m. Cheshunt College. "African Troubles Through Pacifist Eyes." John Ferguson, MA, BD. Public Mtg. For.

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